NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: THREE PAGES OF COMMENT AND PICTURES . . . PP. 5-7

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Powells and Schuman charged with treason after sedition mistrial

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

A STRANGER-THAN-FICTION turn of events has abruptly terminated the sedition trial of newspaperman John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia, and a former associate editor, Julian Schuman, and has placed all three in jeopardy of prosecution for the more serious crime of treason on the same charges. The defendants, all U.S.-born citizens, were indicted in 1956 for writings they published during the Korean War in the **China Monthly Review** of Shanghai.

(See Report to Readers, p. 2.)

Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman, in a colloquy Jan. 29 with the prosecutor in the sedition trial, which began Jan. 26, declared that "the evidence so far presented in this case would be prima facie . . . sufficient to sustain a verdict of guilty under the treason statute." This statement was played up to such an extent in Bay Area newspapers that the judge on Jan. 31 granted a defense motion to declare a mistrial.

The government prosecutor, Robert Schnacke, readily agreed to the ruling. Within an hour he submitted a treason complaint against the defendants and asked that their present bail—$5,000 each for the Powells, $3,500 for Schuman—be set aside and the three held without bail on the more serious charge.

WAS IT ORDERED? The judge refused to vacate the present bail but the defendants were swiftly arraigned before a U.S. Commissioner on the new charges. The prosecutor said he would ask the Federal Grand Jury to indict them for treason on Feb. 11. A hearing was set for Feb. 12.

The prosecutor refused to tell reporters whether he had filed the treason charges on orders from Washington but expressed satisfaction with "this turn of events." Sedition charges are limited to acts committed in the U.S. or its territories.

Treason may be charged on acts committed anywhere in the world against the U.S. consisting of "levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort," in the language of the Constitution. Treason is the only crime set forth in the Constitution, with the expressed intention, stated by the founders, of barring from the new nation trials for sedition, a hated instrument of tyranny elsewhere in the world.

HOW IT HAPPENED: The colloquy

(Continued on Page 9)

'BE NOT FORGETFUL TO ENTERTAIN STRANGERS, FOR THEREBY SOME HAVE ENTERTAINED ANGELS UNAWARES'
Little Emily Curbin, shown above with stranger on Boston Common, may not have read Hebrews XIII, 2 but, even at age three, in the spirit of brotherhood, she knows she must have love and mercy even for the fallen.

THE 21ST CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET CP

K's emphasis on peace impresses the West

By Kumar Goshal

A HEAVY SNOWSTORM swirled past the windows of the Kremlin's Great Hall when Premier Nikita Khrushchev began his speech to the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party on Jan. 27. The snow suddenly disappeared and a shaft of sunshine pierced the windows as he started to elaborate on the new seven-year plan.

Khrushchev left his prepared text, pointed to the flash of light and said: "You see, even the sun favors us. Let the bourgeois journalists among us here take note of how nature favors our seven-year plan." This digression in many ways typified his seven-hour long, 50,000-word address.

In contrast to the somber, exploratory mood of the 20th Congress in 1956, this

(Continued on Page 8)

SECOND CIVIL RIGHTS MEASURE INTRODUCED

Congress gets bill for government controls on unions

By Robert E. Light

CONGRESS GOT President Eisenhower's program "to eliminate abuses" in the labor movement on Jan. 28, a week after a milder "reform" bill was introduced by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.). Between the two, it seemed certain that U.S. unions would end up under tighter government controls than at any time in recent history.

The President said his 20-point package was based on findings of the McClellan "rackets" committee and would "protect the public interest and insure the rights and economic freedoms of millions of American workers."

These are the main provisions of the Administration program:

- Unions will be required to file detailed reports on finances and election procedures, and "information as to their organization and procedures."
- The Secy. of Labor will be given subpena power to investigate all reports, and authority to start court action. Severe penalties are provided for non-compliance.
- Elections by secret ballot will be required every five years for international officers; every three years for local officials.
- Employers will be required to report and keep records on dealings with labor consultants and on loans to union officers. And, "to equalize the onus," employers are required to file-non-Communist oaths.

TOUGHER T-H: On these matters the bill differs only in degree with the Kennedy measure. The kicker in the Administration bill is its revisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

It tightens the T-H provisions against secondary boycott by making it unlawful for a union to convince anyone to engage in one. Ostensibly the provision is aimed at a common practice of teamsters to refuse to handle cargo from a struck plant. But the **Wall Street Journal** said: "The proposed new language is also broad enough to extend . . . to railroads, airlines, agricultural employes and municipalities, not covered at present by

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SLALOM!
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Ready, everybody?
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I think the American people are ready for militant action, mass meetings, protest marches, picket lines, etc.

Against: Defense spending and profiteering; nuclear testing; high cost of living; waste and corruption in government.

For: Housing, schools, hospitals; health insurance and higher old age pensions; higher unemployment insurance; trade with China and the East; repeal of Taft-Hartley, Smith Act, etc.; civil rights; the end of tax withholding; lower income taxes on the lower brackets and higher income taxes on the higher brackets.

Nov. 4 was a defensive move. Now we can take the offensive and should. **I. B.**

By Dawn's Early Light
BURBANK, CALIF.

Every once in a while the question of the origin of the "Salute to the Flag" comes up. Old readers of the **Youth's Companion** should remember it perfectly.

In Harrison's administration, nary a flag was to be seen on school buildings. Someone in the **Youth's Companion** had a bright idea, and for many issues (1889-1892) an advertisement was run with the offer that an American flag, suitable for display outside the schoolhouse, would be presented to any school in the U.S. that sent in, collectively, a certain number of subscribers.

Continuing its drive, the **Companion** proposed a "Patriotic Page" for which it solicited contributions, offering to pay $5 for each accepted. It was on this page that the "Salute to the Flag" made its first appearance, author Francis Bellamy, a Canadian, then living in Rome, N.Y. This first version read: **"I pledge allegiance to my Flag and to the Republic for which it stands; one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all!"**

The wording of the salute has been altered from its original excellence and simplicity. Some one in New York (remembering its polyglot population) complained that a school boy of foreign birth might say "I pledge allegiance to **my** Flag and to the Republic for which it stands" and not mean the U.S.A. So "my flag" was changed to **"the flag of the United States of America,"** making the patriotism more certain, if not the euphony and grammar. Mr. Eisenhower then inserted "under God" after the word "nation."

During Harding's administration, a committee got busy formulating the proper procedures for treating the flag; how it should be raised and when, how lowered, how folded to be put away, how disposed of when worn out. It was this self-appointed committee that decided that the flag must be raised at sunrise and lowered at sunset.

Mr. Harding, when he had OK'd the specifications, remarked somewhat acidly: "I hope when you gentlemen go home, you will read the words of the Star Spangled Banner!"

Frances Duncan Manning

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

To begin with the ousted Batista regime: it had simmered down to more or less genteel repression—genteel in that while political murders and beatings and corruption continued at a rate that would be deplored in another setting, the Batista record toward its end generally had offended only other Cubans. U.S. relations officially remained cordial, and the usually large but largely unrecognized stake of U.S. investment and trade continued to grow.

—Editorial in Los Angeles **Times, Jan. 21.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. A. B., Los Angeles

Dandy doodle
EUREKA, CALIF.

So! The editor of **Lumberjack News** sent you a rejection envelope—with no poem, hey! We will dang well remedy that right now! Run this and see how they like it! Be sure and credit **Lumberjack News** for it or we will see that you get six months in Canada with a dull axe!

Foster Dulles had a dream,
It surely was a phoney
He dreamed he had the
Russians down,
And feeding them baloney.

The Red Chinese got in the act,
And so did Fidel Castro;
Should Foster Dulles keep
it up,
'Twill surely mean **disastro.**

Chorus:
Foster Dulles keep it up,
Foster Doodle Dandy,
Mind the missiles and the
Bombs,
And keep the Cold War
Handy.

Seriously now: we have sent out a tentative notice to my 75 or so local readers, of a Guardian Rally that will be a historical dinger in Redwood Empire latter February.

Tom Scribner,
1456 C St., Eureka

Word from Jeremy
NEW YORK, N.Y.

I would like to share with you this paragraph from a letter I just received from my husband, V. J. Jerome, who is in Warsaw now, where his novel, **A Lantern for Jeremy**, is being published in Polish.

"Well, what are all these worries worth in the light of the Rocket to the Moon and the first artificial Satellite of the Sun? What a privileged age to live in! And what boundless vistas this opens up. And that this miraculous flight of discovery should proceed from that land which in our own lifetime—but yesterday—stood out as the bastion of Czarist obscurantism, the Erebus of Europe! But two score years since Russia turned worker-side up, with the mountainous mass of debris that had to be cleared, with the invading hordes of the 'Fourteen Nations' that had to be fought off, the famine that had to be conquered, the restorationists that had to be crushed, the hands and the brains that had to be tutored from the ranks of the people dispossessed for centuries from learning; the great bold planlaying with hero-hands and steeled hearts to rear the dream of ages into a shining reality—in the face of untold tribulations, and then the war, with the brunt borne against the savagest and powerfullest of armed mights, and the aftermath of ravage and ruin and greatest human loss. And yet—Hear, the Cosmos is singing a paean to the land where the workers first took command."

Jerry sends greetings to all his GUARDIAN friends.

Alice Jerome

Wall Street Journal
Five-four-three-two-one-zero!

Take heart
LOWELL, MASS.

Re Fast, Gates, Chambers, et al:

It is given to few men to steer a straight moral course through every storm, and no one can tell what makes them so steadfast, yet as long as one remains, there is hope for all on board. History shows there will always be one.

Let us take heart and resist the disease of our time. There are still men who would rather die right than live wrong. It is to them we must always turn for counsel. **Tom Mill**

Lernu Esperanton senpaga
MIDDLETON, WISC.

The Esperanto Library is making it possible for readers of the GUARDIAN to take a free course in the language.

Send a deposit of $3 to the Esperanto Library, Middleton, Wisc. When you have sent in for correction the exercises you will receive, your deposit will be returned. The books are a gift of the organization. Your only expense is for postage on your exercises.

Yours for Esperanto now.

Glenn P. Turner

Library books needed
MONTREAL, CANADA

Up to six months ago my home was in British Guiana. I was business manager of the People's Progressive Party (Dr. Jagan's party). I am now working in Montreal and attending college. I get your paper every week, so I have decided to drop you these few lines, to ask for your assistance.

The Youth's Natl. Congress of Trinidad and Tobago has written requesting help in the formation of their new library. Knowing what great assistance you gave our library in British Guiana—the GUARDIAN library—I am asking if readers can assist these youths with donations of books. All books can be sent to: Paul Benjamin, 41 Prince St., Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I. **Claude Christian**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THERE IS IN WASHINGTON a large brown man with crisp hair, whom few people know, but who has miraculously made the United States of America at least once a year notice and say something about the history of the Negro race in our country. This miracle has been accomplished by Carter G. Woodson. He edits and publishes, and has published for two decades **The Journal of Negro History.**

He has done this almost single-handed, because no respectable foundation, no matter how many millions it has, is going to entrust a Negro with funds, unless it is sure he will do exactly what it would like to have done. There could be no greater celebration of his work than to have one of our rich and aimless foundations give him enough funds to pursue his career, without poverty and pain.

—W.E.B. DuBois in the Guardian, Feb. 7, 1949

Carter Woodson died April 3, 1950.—Editor

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REPORT TO READERS

Powell-Schuman trial

THE DISTURBING—HOWEVER BIZARRE—development which has occurred in the Powell-Schuman Case (see p. 1) must command the deep attention of every GUARDIAN reader and all others concerned for civil liberty, press freedom, due process and the public right to know the full facts of its government's techniques of warmaking.

An almost-too-smooth switchover has taken place, from a sedition trial—which the Government was finding bothersome and probably hard to win because evidence was barred which could have aroused public passion—to a treason case which carries with it implications of the death penalty and in which no holds are barred on inflaming jury and public.

There were originally 13 counts in the 1956 indictment against John W. Powell, youthful publisher from 1947-53 of the **China Monthly Review** in Shanghai, his wife, Sylvia, and a former associate editor, Julian Schuman. The counts all relied on material published in the **China Monthly Review** during the Korean War period that the Koreans were defending their own homeland, that Chiang was corrupt, that U.S. China policy was wrong, that U.S. tested germ warfare in Korea, etc.

IN THE NEARLY THREE YEARS since the indictment, much has transpired (all reported in the GUARDIAN including the 1958 journey of attorney A.L. Wirin to China to obtain defense testimony), with some significant results. Two counts were withdrawn: one relating to a quotation from Gen. Omar Bradley in January, 1952, concerning a "spectacular" plan to end the fighting in Korea.

On the eve of the trial opening, the Government further announced that it would not offer evidence on counts charging false statements in the **Review** concerning germ warfare and stalling of peace talks.

In addition, the Government has conceded that the U.S. had the "capability to wage both chemical and biological warfare," but that the means for such warfare were "available and retained only within the continental U.S." This statement has been interpreted in the press as a denial that germ warfare was used in Korea.

ACTUALLY, THESE APPARENT "CONCESSIONS" by the prosecution were a move to prevent the defense from forcing out into the open Government documents relating to germ warfare. In early 1953 a Marine Air Wing chief of staff, Col. Frank H. Schwable, then a prisoner of war, gave his captors a highly detailed, lengthy and absorbing account, replete with names, dates and places, of the laying of a "contamination belt" across North Korea by the dropping of cholera and other germ bombs. Upon his return to the U.S. in the prisoner exchange, Schwable recanted on this account. (In fact on the day of his return he confirmed his tale to correspondent Wilfred Burchett on one side of the exchange barrier, then recanted it on the other side).

THE JUDGE IN THE SEDITION TRIAL had indicated that he would consider defense demands for government documents as issues arose. Also, he had barred government testimony by P.O.W.'s referring to the **China Monthly Review** in prison camps, since the sedition law under which the indictments were obtained relates only to acts in the U.S. or its territories. Thus the prosecution was hamstrung on the kind of witnesses it wanted to produce, while wide open to having to produce military documents on the court's demand. The switchover to charges of treason opens the gate worldwide on witnesses, whereas a new judge in a new proceeding may close it against ordering classified documents into open court.

FOR THE DEFENDANTS there is cold comfort in the belief of some lawyers and friends that a treason conviction would be hard to win based on reporting and opinion hardly different from much which appeared at the same time in U.S. publications and even in the **Congressional Record.**

For them it means years more of hardship and costly defense and the real, immediate possibility that the Government demand for new, high bail to match the new charges (on the same evidence!) will be granted when the new indictments are obtained. (The Powells, both in their 30's, have three young children).

A strong fight now can prevent the Powell-Schuman Case from becoming a new Rosenberg-Sobell Case. We urge that contributions be sent immediately to the Powell-Schuman Defense Committee, 2120 Market St., Room 201, San Francisco, Calif. Further, we believe messages should go to Attorney General William Rogers, Dept. of Justice, Washington, urging that he halt further moves against the Powells and Schuman.

—THE GUARDIAN

A LATIN AMERICAN EXAMINES STATE DEPT. HYPOCRISY

The Batista terror never disturbed Washington

By Ernest Galarza, Ph.D.
Formerly Director, Labor and Economic Affairs for Latin America, Pan American Union
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

IT SEEMS TO ME that recent protestations by the State Department to the effect that it had **not** been sympathetic with the Batista government of Cuba requires some critical examination. It recently was quoted widely as declaring that it had objected repeatedly to what it called the Batista government's misuse of military aid provided for the defense of the Western Hemisphere as a whole. It also pointed out that arms shipments were halted last Spring.

Yet Batista's record as an unscrupulous political buccaneer has been public knowledge for 20 years. The terror that he maintained in Cuba since he last seized power was enforced with U.S. military equipment, and in the presence of a U.S. Military Mission. Was the American ambassador finally moved to compassion last spring when our arms shipments stopped? I believe that the real reasons for this change have still to be made clear to the American people.

The truth that starkly faces the Cuban people is that our diplomatic and military agents in Cuba, representing the awful might of our country, co-existed comfortably with Batista's terror.

THE IMPORTANCE of this fact comes into focus when one realizes that the people of Cuba are not alone. Throughout Latin America the coexistence of our democratic piousness with insolent, bloody military dictatorship has been exhibited. Our arms, mostly obsolete for military operations against a great power, are still modern enough to shoot down civilians in the streets, the factories, and the jails. They have gone to Odria in Peru, Somoza in Nicaragua, Pérez Jiminez in Venezuela, and Trujillo in Santo Domingo, to mention only a few.

Surely State Department representatives arguing now on behalf of our democratic government will not plead that the department did not know what was going on. I, for one, cannot believe that such ignorance is possible with diplomats. But, if it is possible, then those who permitted so much damage from such vast imcompetence, ought to get out.

I say "damage" in many contexts. Who can compile the roster of those who have been murdered, tortured and maimed in the last ten years in the jails of Santiago de Cuba, Havana, Bogotá, Caracas, Lima, Buenos Aires, Cuidad Trujillo and Managua? Are they hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands who, since Pearl Harbor, have been summarily executed in Latin America, without trial or appeal, because they disagreed with dictators we had armed?

How many trade union leaders have "disappeared without trace" for trying to do what 50,000 union representatives do every day in the United States? How wide and deep is the damage done by the system of indentured labor to which the governments of the U.S. and Mexico, acting through their diplomatic agents, have agreed by consigning half a million Mexican workers every year to the corporation farms of our country?

BATISTA'S BUTCHERS DID THIS
Cuban official Odon Alvarez de la Campa

THERE ARE MANY Latin Americans who love America and its democratic promise with a passionate devotion. I am one of them. But many of the men who have been officially the stewards of our relations with Latin America have undermined that promise. And the gap between many of these officials and Latin America widens into suspicion, bewilderment, and finally hatred. Our exported democracy has frequently been counterfeited in this process.

I have had the opportunity to observe at close quarters this counterfeiting process at work—and with increasing nausea. During World War II, when the issue between democracy and totalitarianism was at deadly heat, we mobilized the support of Latin America to our cause. This mobilization was economic, military, and moral. A new agency was created in our government for the specific purpose—the Co-Ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. And never before or since have we done so much to stir in the minds of the Latin American people, so burning a desire for the American democratic promise.

But, even as the war progressed, our arms were used to destroy trade unions, suppress civil liberties, and crush constitutional government. And these means were justified to the end of maintaining war production to defend democracy.

Hostilities ended; and not long afterward our ally, Gen. Peñaranda of Bolivia, massacred the tin miners of Catavi with his regiments and our arms. We rewarded the general with an honorary degree from Columbia University—an ingenious public relations touch suggested by the Co-Ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Peñaranda was an illiterate professional militarist.

IN THE SENATE'S forthcoming investigation of our relations with Latin America, I hope we shall pick up the thread of our wartime commitments. I think we shall find that we have acted as though World War II gave American business an insider's chance to "move in." Militarily, we have continued selling arms to dictators who didn't mind our moving in as long as they could collect fortunes in tribute and loot. Morally, we have abandoned democracy to dubious battle with those we armed with money, prestige, and guns.

I do not think it is possible to condone the wave of counter-terror which is now sweeping Cuba, because it is never possible to condone terror. To challenge terror, to discredit it morally, to shackle it, and finally to destroy its threat to individual and political fulfillment, has been the great historic task of democracy. We may, therefore, rightfully call upon Castro to put an end to the wholesale killings now taking place in Cuba. We may ask him to use the power he now has to bring a new Cuba into life, rather than bring the old one to its death.

But in asking this, we must face ourselves as well as Castro. We must admit that when Castro asks us why we were not protesting when Batista's Tigers killed systematically—and for pay—he is raising legitimate questions. For what Castro asks, and through him all Latin America asks, is this:

Are we opposed to terror only when people, out of a closed and furious despair, rise and kill their tormentors? Is there an acceptable kind of terror, when it is practiced by political henchmen of ours such as Batista, Somoza, Trujillo, and Pérez Jiminez?

OR ARE WE OPPOSED to terror anywhere and everywhere? And, if so, are we willing to join hands at last with those who have suffered from terror, and who only want, as we have promised them, our sympathy, our understanding, and our active material and moral support to establish the democracy that challenges, shackles and finally destroys terror?

Behind the blind passion of the momentary terror in Cuba, there are, I believe, demands of the human spirit that have been mutilated and betrayed. I believe that with the Cuban people, as with many other people of Latin America, these are just demands. Unless we begin to help the democratic aspirations of these people instead of continuing to hinder, we shall end by losing their trust and friendship completely—and we shall deserve it.

THE 'PEURIFOY PLAN' AT WORK?

Provocation seen behind break between Guatemala and Mexico

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

THE MACHINE-GUNNING of five unarmed Mexican fishing vessels by the Guatemalan Air Force on Dec. 31, in which three persons were killed, 14 injured and 11 arrested, was an effort to provoke a major conflict between Mexico and Guatemala, informed circles here believe.

The Mexican government has refrained from armed retaliation, but in the weeks since has sought explanations, release of those imprisoned, reparations and return of the five impounded boats. It also suggested arbitration by either the Organization of American States or the Intl. Court of Justice at the Hague. When Guatemala refused, Mexico on Jan. 23 broke off diplomatic relations. Three days later, Guatemala charged in the UN that Mexico was concentrating troops on its border.

Mexican observers believe the attack had deeper roots than the senile dementia and napoleonic complex attributed to Guatemalan President Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, and that larger international factors are involved.

THE SETTING: It is recalled that the attack on the Mexican boats, accused of illegally fishing in Guatemalan waters, was made shortly after Gen. Ydigoras granted a reportedly exclusive concession over Guatemala's shellfish resources to a U.S. packer.

The attack occurred while the two governments were in diplomatic negotiations on the question of alleged Mexican fishing violations.

The attack came a month after a new, center-left administration took office in Mexico and while it is still in the process of organization. If it answered in kind, it would be denounced as an aggressor against a smaller nation. If it adhered to international law, it was likely to make little impression on the dictatorship-trained mentality of Gen. Ydigoras.

THE EFFECTS: The accusation that Mexican vessels poached on Guatemalan shrimp beds weakens this country's defenses against the perennial, large-scale invasions of Mexican waters by U.S. commercial fishers. (Gen. Ydigoras did not order his fighter planes into action against Americans who are illegally fishing in Guatemalan waters).

Now the U.S. State Dept. will be able to answer Mexican protests against U.S. shrimp-pirating with the arguments of the Mexican note to Guatemala: That such invasions are without the government's knowledge or consent, that they are the acts of private individuals which the government has no legal means to prevent, and that as such they cannot be construed as violations of national sovereignty.

The Guatemalan campaign against Mexico was launched shortly after the failure of the latest inter-American conference in Washington and a few days following Venezuela's action raising the taxes of foreign oil companies. And it coincides with the fall of the Cuban dictator, Gen. Fulgencio Batista, which has further weakened Washington's hold on Latin America.

'PEURIFOY PLAN': Guatemala is having its own internal problems. On Jan. 17, 5,000 workers struck against the U.S.-owned United Fruit Railway. The government forced them back to work by drafting them into the Army.

With this background, there seems to be too many coincidences to put all the blame for the machine-gunning and the show of Guatemalan hostility on Gen. Ydigoras. The question here is whether the provocation is part of an attempt to disrupt the Latin American movement for unity and economic independence.

Excelsior, Mexico City
"Do you smell bananas?"

To Mexican observers it has all the earmarks of the policy of keeping the Central American countries in a state of reaction and unrest which is known here as the Peurifoy Plan, so-named after the late pistol-packing American Ambassador to Guatemala who helped to engineer the overthrow of the Arbenz government in 1954.

STANDARD OIL IN SAHARA GETS WARNING

French rumors of peace in Algeria fizzle out

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

IN THE WEEK beginning Monday, Jan. 12, France was electric with predictions of government amnesty for the imprisoned Algerian leaders and of imminent peace in Algeria.

On Jan. 13, President de Gaulle did extend amnesty to the 60-year-old Algerian leader Messali Hadj, arrested seven years ago, and to Mohammed Ben Bella and four other leaders kidnapped by French forces as they were on their way to Tunis in October, 1956; they had been invited, with the understanding of the French government, to discuss Tunisian mediation for peace in Algeria.

On Jan. 14, the wire services carried reports of secret negotiations between de Gaulle and the Algerian leaders. Many newspapermen believed peace was just around the corner. That night **Le Monde** said final solutions for peace in Algeria "might be subject to referendum if it encountered strong opposition." Even the more skeptical Communist Party paper **Humanité** conceded that amnesty was a fine thing, though not enough to solve the Algerian conflict.

PEACE FIZZLES OUT: On Jan. 15, the **Express** applauded de Gaulle's amnesty measures and recommended that, despite disagreement on de Gaulle's program, "all Frenchmen must be behind him in that grave enterprise." By then, peace seemed so likely that the Algerian ultras and their friends in Algiers and in Paris were up in arms. One Moslem deputy said: "We have been deceived and misled. We had better resign and go home." Another termed the amnesty "a reward for murder." The Algiers Public Safety Committee warned against the "mortal dangers of the confusion voluntarily entertained by de Gaulle on Algeria's future."

By the afternoon of Jan. 15 the predictions were proving to be highly exaggerated. Messali Hadj was released from "forced residence" on Belle-Ile off Brittany, but ordered not to leave France. Ben Bella and his colleagues were merely removed from Sante prison in Paris to "more comfortable quarters" in a fortress, said to be on Belle-Ile.

De Gaulle's appearance that day at the opening session of the Fifth Republic's first assembly created high tension, but only briefly. In his typically cloudy and oracular statement on Algeria ("Pacification and transformation of Algeria are, obviously, the indispensable conditions for a political solution which cannot but stem from universal suffrage") everyone could read what he wanted. Following him, Premier Debre dispelled the clouds by saying that Algeria would remain under French sover-

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"It's not a raid. It's a round-up of candidates."

eignty, and negotiations of any kind, at any time, were out of the question.

NOT NEGOTIABLE: Algerian ultra leader Alain de Serigny's journal **Echo D'Alger** heaved a sigh of relief at "the government's rejection of all political negotiations." Paul Delouvrier, de Gaulle's new delegate-general in Algeria, said that Algeria's political status was not negotiable and that "we must exterminate the rebellion." An Algiers military court sentenced three liberation fighters to death.

By the end of the week, the press had forgotten peace, and Algerian news was confined to the alarming increase in the National Liberation Front's (FLN) military activities. Observers wondered who had launched the peace rumors, and why; and, if they were more than rumors, why they had failed.

NATIONALIST MESSALI HADJ
His amnesty was strictly limited

Many observers were aware of the intense rivalry between the "moderate" Messali Hadj and the more representative leaders like Ben Bella, who called for independence. They saw in de Gaulle's grant of amnesty an effort to intensify this rivalry and to strengthen those amenable to a compromise favorable to France.

THE 'CONTRADICTION': British Labor MP Richard Crossman seemed to have analyzed the situation most astutely. On Jan. 14 he had two inteviews: one with Deputy Premier Jacques Soustelle, the other with President de Gaulle. According to Crossman:

- Soustelle categorically denied that amnesty would lead to negotiations with Algerian leaders. He insisted that France would not grant independence to Algeria in the foreseeable future; the FLN leaders could, if they wished, surrender to the local French commanders.
- De Gaulle held out the possibility of at least a cease-fire negotiated with a member of the Algerian Provisional Government.

One could attribute the seeming contradiction between the views of de Gaulle and his closest collaborator to de Gaulle's estimate that the FLN was getting tired of fighting and would lay down its arms when France began the Algerian economic development plan in 1960. He may also have been influenced by the fact that the Algerian ultras, bent on continuing the war to maintain the status quo, are being outnumbered by advocates of armistice among whom are the French, American and German concerns interested in exploiting the Sahara's mineral wealth.

WHAT DOES HE BELIEVE? Yet, de Gaulle has failed to utilize his immense power and prestige to press his views for peace—if he really holds them. Some see signs of supreme statesmanship in his theory of an aura of mystery necessarily surrounding a great political leader; in the light of his lack of action, one wonders if the theory is not merely an excuse for mystification.

The Algerian Provisional Government, meeting in Tunis Jan. 27, declared "regretfully" that there was "no prospect for peace" in Algeria at present. It noted increasing U.S. interest in Algerian minerals, as demonstrated by Standard Oil of New Jersey acquiring a 50% share of two French companies prospecting in Algeria.

Information Minister Mohammed Yazid said the Algerian Provisional Government would not consider Standard Oil's contract binding. He warned that oil installations in the Sahara were legitimate military targets. Hence, employes of Western oil companies working there "may become innocent victims of the war."

Revere, Randolph, Hamilton in N.Y. readings from Joyce

SELECTED READINGS from James Joyce will be presented by five outstanding artists Sun., Feb. 15. Anne Revere, John Randolph, Frank Hamilton, Anne Meara and Robert Brown will read from **A Portrait of the Artist** and **Stephen Hero** in the Master Institute Round Table Review, 310 Riverside Dr., N.Y.C., at 8:30 p.m. A commentary will be delivered by Dr. Frederic Ewen. The production is under the direction of Mr. Randolph and Phoebe Brand.

BILL TO BE INTRODUCED

Michigan labor for unlimited jobless benefits

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

A MONTH AGO it was still possible to write that in Michigan "top union officers . . . are saying little and doing nothing about the job crisis here" and that "the only hopeful sign in the whole picture" was the beginning of organization by unemployed UAW members. (GUARDIAN, Jan. 19).

Since then, due in part to the activities of the unemployed, the situation has changed. The Michigan AFL-CIO Council has called for unemployment compensation benefits for the full period of unemployment and has persuaded a group of legislators to introduce such a bill. (Present benefit limits in this state are 26 weeks, plus temporary benefits of 13 weeks. More than 100,000 workers exhausted their benefits last year).

August Scholle, state AFL-CIO president, traveled all night from another meeting to present the new compensation program at a rally of the UAW Production and Skilled Workers Committee in Labor Temple on Jan. 20. His speech was interrupted repeatedly by applause from the hundreds of jobless present.

A CHECK EVERY WEEK: "What we are asking, in effect, is that workers who have exhausted their unemployment benefits be given a check every week until they get a job," Scholle said. "How can anyone decide when is the time to tell a person who is laid off and has exhausted his unemployment benefits that he can now lay down peacefully and die? At what week does a man stop eating?"

Scholle didn't say it, but this is the most advanced unemployment proposal made by any official AFL-CIO body in the country. Equally "unorthodox" were some of his comments on the national budget:

"In this country, we can spend $40 billion to try to shoot the moon. Wouldn't it be more humane and decent to take 5% of this $40 billion and start

Williams in Detroit Free Press
Busy Days in Lansing

building institutions of education for our kids and thus create demands for workers in this building program?

"Couldn't we build one less Sputnik next year? Everybody knows we can blow each other up and under the circumstances I don't think anybody is going to start a shooting war."

UNFAIR TO BOSSES: Republicans called the compensation proposal "utterly ridiculous" and "unfair to employers." One GOP legislator in Lansing said unemployment lasting longer than 39 weeks "is not the fault of the employer, it is the fault of economic conditions." Another demanded to know: "Why would anyone want to bother looking for work if there were no limits to the duration of benefits?" (Average benefits in Michigan last year were $36 a week).

A group of Democrats agreed to sponsor the bill in the state legislature because they believe "extended unemployment compensation will cost business, industry and the public less than welfare grants."

But the leader of the Michigan Democratic Party, Gov. Williams, was "noncommittal and almost skeptical," according to the Detroit **News**. He hadn't seen the AFL-CIO proposal, he said, and noted there was "a lot of difference" between it and his own proposals to extend benefits to between 39 and 52 weeks. If what he said was true, this is the first time in several years that the AFL-CIO has sponsored important legislation without first checking with top Democrats.

MARCH TO LANSING: The daily press was abusive. Typical was the Detroit **Free Press** (see cartoon at left). The UAW unemployed committee responded to the effort "to ridicule and mock those who are desperate for jobs" with a demonstration on Jan. 27 in front of the **Free Press**, passing out leaflets which said:

"We challenge the **Free Press** to find jobs for Detroit's 200,000 unemployed workers. Then we wouldn't need unlimited jobless pay.

"The cartoon says, 'Make unemployment **your** career.' That's where the joke really comes in. Unemployment has already been made **our** career."

The UAW committee is now circulating petitions asking the UAW leadership to endorse the bill for a shorter week introduced by U.S. Sen. McNamara. It is also preparing for a march to Lansing in support of an AFL-CIO rally for extended compensation.

Co-chairmen of the committee are Joe Shaner, Art Fox, Manatee Smith and Charles Weinstein. Its address is 5981 Woodward, Detroit.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

'The cheapest price to pay for liberty is its cost today'

John Brown and the lesson for Negro History Week

By Louis E. Burnham

IN THEIR STRUGGLE against integration of public schools, the champions of the Old South have used an impressive array of weapons. Where they could not cajole or browbeat the Negro into the further acceptance of segregation, they have relied on hastily-enacted state laws to keep him out of white schools. When the laws have proved invalid in the Federal courts, as recently in Virginia, they have passed new ones in even more reckless haste with the hope of holding integration to a trickle.

In some cases—Sturgess, Ky., Clinton, Nashville and Little Rock—they have turned to the last resort, violence. They have not thought to win every battle; they have eagerly joined many they knew they would lose. But in fighting and in losing they have sought to gain what they consider their most precious advantage—time to work on the national intelligence. They believe a people long accustomed to the fact of the Negro's inferior position can in time be persuaded that he is innately inferior. Given this, they reason, the national mind-set can be changed from a libertarian insistence on equality to acceptance of a social compact prescribing by statute the Negro's perpetual subordination.

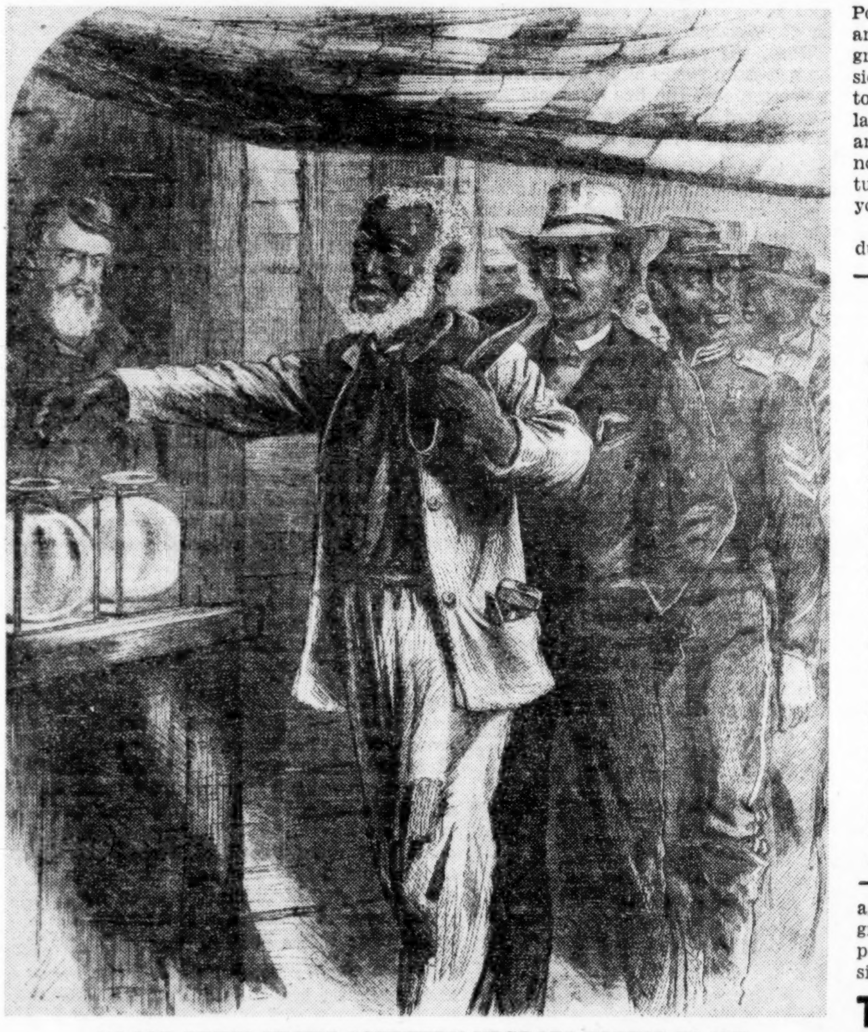
THEREIN LIES the significance of Negro History Week, 1959—nearly five years after the first Supreme Court decision on the schools and a century removed from the day John Brown and a little band of men took the arsenal at Harper's Ferry in a bid to free their fellow-men in bonds.

Though resistance in Virginia now retreats from "massive" to "passive" obstruction of law, the flow of white supremacy propaganda everywhere in the South and the nation reaches flood proportions. Unchecked, it will inundate men's minds and the segregationists, while losing single engagements, may win the war.

One of the prime exhibits in the South's ideological weaponry is the notion that the segregation system is not only time-honored but, in the very nature of things, fixed for all time. They rest this claim on a spurious reading of history and, in their more extravagant fancies, on supernatural design.

Thus the N.Y. **Times** on Jan. 5 carried as an advertisement an open letter to the President from a Northern businessman-turned-historian, one Carleton Putnam. A native New Yorker, Putnam spent many years in the South as an airlines executive. Though retaining a position on the board of Delta Airlines, he now devotes himself to historical writing and recently published a biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

WHAT AROUSED Putnam's dander were three sentences in Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the September, 1958, Little Rock case. The sentences read: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this may be, to law and education."



AN OLD PRINT SHOWS SOUTHERN NEGROES VOTING IN 1867
In that year Negro voters outnumbered whites in recontructed states

The customs congealed, contended Putnam, "for a very good reason"—the Negro is plainly inferior and the equality doctrine untenable. As regards divine sanction, he felt that segregation came "closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

The fact is, however, that no section of the nation has undergone such rapid and radical changes in its social system as the South. It is fitting that a Southern historian, Arkansas-born C. Vann Woodward, provided a concise answer to the myth of the fixed system in his book, **The Strange Career of Jim Crow,** published by Oxford University Press in 1955.

Woodward demolishes the notion that Negro equality had no advocates in the South except during the brief Reconstruction period, which is usually portrayed as a social mishap readily corrected as soon as the nation came to its senses.

QUITE THE CONTRARY, he demonstrates that for at least two decades after Reconstruction was betrayed in 1876, the South was engaged in a bitter battle over four alternative programs relating to the Negro freedmen. Many explanters would have restored slavery in fact if not in name, and where they could they did.

Other conservatives—often the sons of slaveholders—wanted white supremacy without Negro degradation. This was surely a contradiction in terms, but it involved the use of the Negro vote as a buffer against the rising tide of discontent among poor white farmers and, in return, countenanced the integration of transportation and some other public facilities.

A third, the school of liberal idealists most typified by George Washington Cable, contended eloquently for Negro equality in the nation's interest but lacked identification with the economic struggles then agitating masses of Southern whites.

The fourth alternative rose among these poor white farmers themselves. In the days immediately after Reconstruction they were the Greenbackers, Readjusters and Independents. They formed agrarian third party movements to challenge the plantation oligarchy and Federal subservience to the railroad and industrial monopolies. In Virginia the Readjusters combined with Republicans to take over the government from the conservative Democratic defenders of white supremacy.

In the last decade of the 19th century, the agrarian dissidents, now known as Populists, made a direct bid in many areas for a firm alliance with the Negroes. Tom Watson, before his conversion to blind bigotry, addressed himself to the impoverished sharecroppers and laborers, both Negro and white: "You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars you both."

Woodward cites the probability that during the brief Populist upsurge 70 years ago "Negroes and whites achieved a greater comity of mind and harmony of political purpose than ever before or since in the South."

TODAY'S TASK is to re-build that comity and harmony. As a starter, Negro History Week should be an occasion for disabusing the public mind of the fiction that it never existed before and, by inference, cannot be achieved now.

It will not come easily or without pain, but come it must. John Brown knew this and told the South a century ago as he lay near death: "You may dispose of me easily—I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled—this Negro question, I mean. The end of that is not yet."

And W.E.B. DuBois, 50 years later, wrote a great biography of the Old Man in which he reminded the nation: "John Brown taught us that the cheapest price to pay for liberty is its cost today."

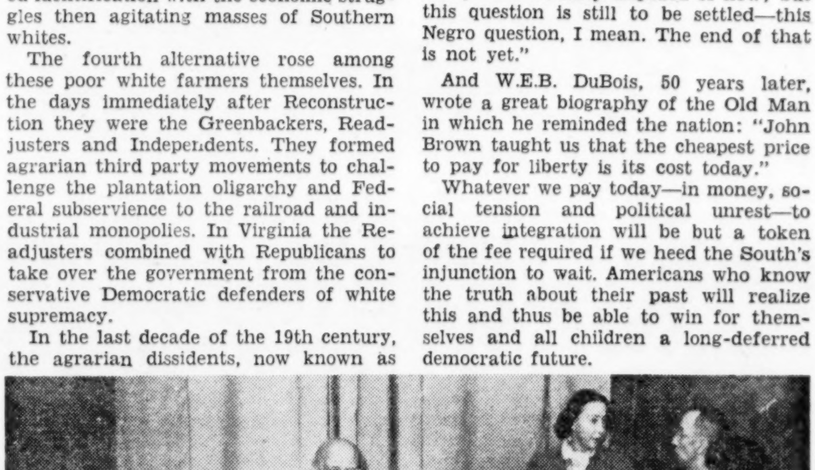
Whatever we pay today—in money, social tension and political unrest—to achieve integration will be but a token of the fee required if we heed the South's injunction to wait. Americans who know the truth about their past will realize this and thus be able to win for themselves and all children a long-deferred democratic future.

Negro History Week events in New York and Chicago

CHICAGO: Sammy Davis Jr. will appear at a public meeting Sunday, Feb. 15 at 2:30 p.m., at the United Packinghouse Workers Hall, 49th and Wabash. Robert Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., NAACP and leader of the defense in the "Kissing Case," will be the principal speaker. Other speakers will be A. L. Foster of the Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce; Charles Hays, district director of the Packinghouse Workers, and Ernest Di Maio of the United Electrical Workers.

NEW YORK: The Metropolitan Music School will give a concert Feb. 8 at 8:15 p.m. at the scool, 18 W. 74th St. Beatrice Rippy, soprano who toured with the opera company presenting **Porgy and Bess,** here and abroad, will sing Negro spirituals and songs. Alan Booth, pianist, will play works by Bartok, Guarnieri and Coleridge-Taylor.

Drawing from "The Black Worker," New York



DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS (c.) IN TASHKENT LAST YEAR
A panel discussion during the Asian-African Conference of Writers

It was quite a year of Negro

SYMBOL OF HATE: Hooded Klansmen stand in silhouette around a burning cross at Stone Mountain, Ga.

ON THE AVERAGE, the Negro child born today may expect to live until he is 61 years old. Forty years ago, when Carter G. Woodson initiated Negro History Week, the average life expectancy of the new-born Negro child was some 15 years shorter, and the life he would live in this limited span would certainly be harsher than for today's beginner.

There is no denying—nor need to deny—that, on the basis of such social measurements as earning power, education and health, the Negro has moved forward with the nation during the last generation. What is more important, however, is that the relative position of Negroes in American life—the gap between his enjoyment of the economic, social and cultural fruits of our economy and that of his white neighbor—has changed but little for the better. In some areas, such as housing, it has worsened.

Thus, while the Negro baby will live longer than his 1920 counterpart, jimcrow still robs him of more than eight years of life available to the white child whose average age is 69.

To close the gap indicated here has been the historic goal of Negro protest and advancement movements:

JOBS AND INCOME: Half the nation's Negro families earn less than $2,600 a year, which is about 48% below the median income of white families. The white farm family earns one-and-one-half times more than the Negro farm family and the white city family fully five times more. At the low point of the recession last March, 14.4% of Negro workers were unemployed as against 6.9% among whites.

EDUCATION: At every level of learning, from acquiring literacy to graduation from college, the Negro lags far behind. If opportunities were equal there would have been 68,000 Negro high school graduates instead of the 25,000 who actually graduated in 1956. Though they comprise 11% of the population, Negroes number but 2% of the nation's doctors; and their representation among other professions, excepting teachers and ministers, is even less impressive.

GOVERNMENT: Four Negro Congressmen make up less than 1% of the 436-member House of Representatives; there are no Negro U.S. Senators. Only 25% of the potential Negro vote in the South is registered, compared with 60% among whites. "Taxation without representation" remains the rule in the deep-South states.

HOUSING: Forty million dwelling units in the U.S. are out of bounds to Negroes. Almost a third of the housing occupied by Negroes is sub-standard and dilapidated. As Negro migrants have crowded into central areas of the Northern cities, whites have abandoned them for new suburban developments. Thus, urbanization has often increased rather than minimized racial separation.

Real progress has been slow. The gap remains. The job ahead is enormous, as the pictures on this page demonstrate graphically.

MEN OF COLOR: Two prime ministers, Nkrumah of Ghana (l.) and Nehru of India, testify to the new world a-comin' for colored peoples.

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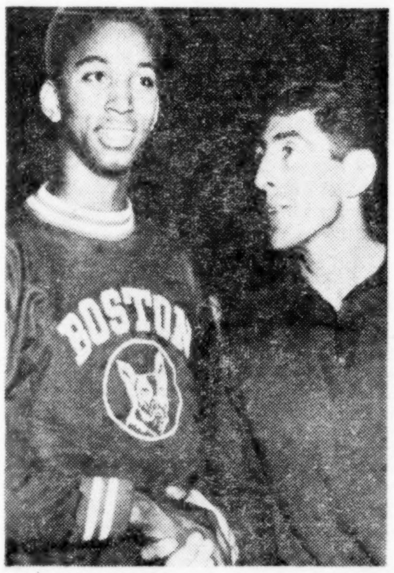
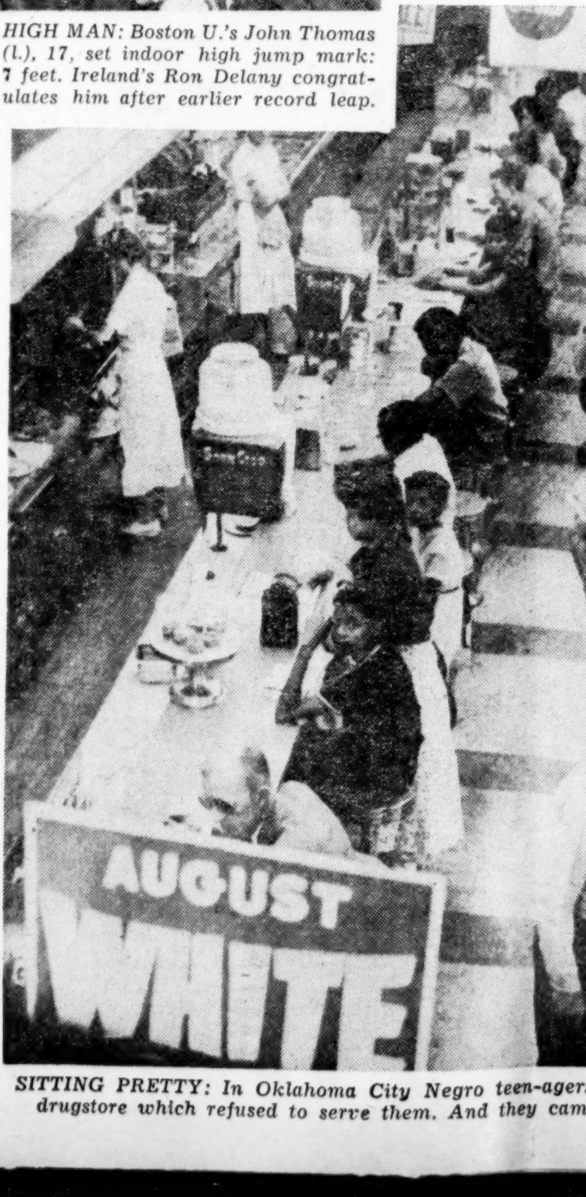


HIGH MAN: Boston U.'s John Thomas (l.), 17, set indoor high jump mark: 7 feet. Ireland's Ron Delany congratulates him after earlier record leap.

LONG WAY HOME: Charles Brown, aide to Michigan Gov. Williams, commutes 90 miles daily to jimcrow Lansing. Year's search failed to yield a home.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE: In Montgomery, Ala., William P. Mitchell (r.) rises to tell a toothless Civil Rights Commission how Negroes have been deprived of their right to cast a ballot in the Deep South.



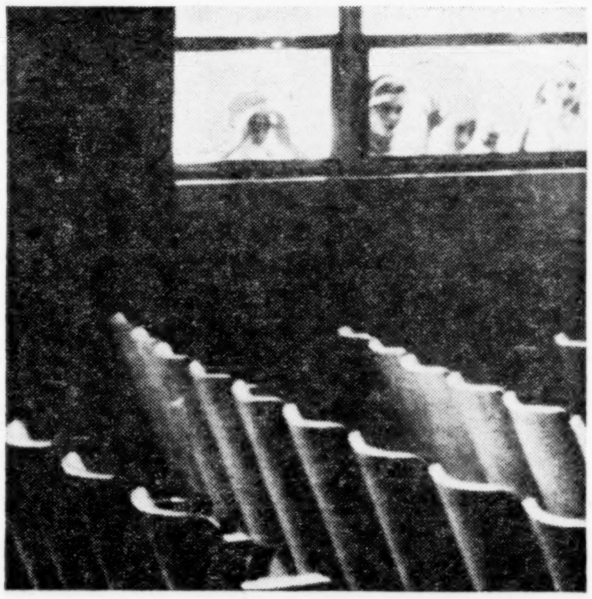
SITTING PRETTY: In Oklahoma City Negro teen-ager
drugstore which refused to serve them. And they cam

ro history--and there's more to come

LE THEY'VE SEEN: Mothers two boys in the N.C. "kissing after the court sent boys away.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED: In Atlanta they rose to wave dollars at a mass meeting to back up a Federal court ruling that jimcrow seating in the buses was illegal.

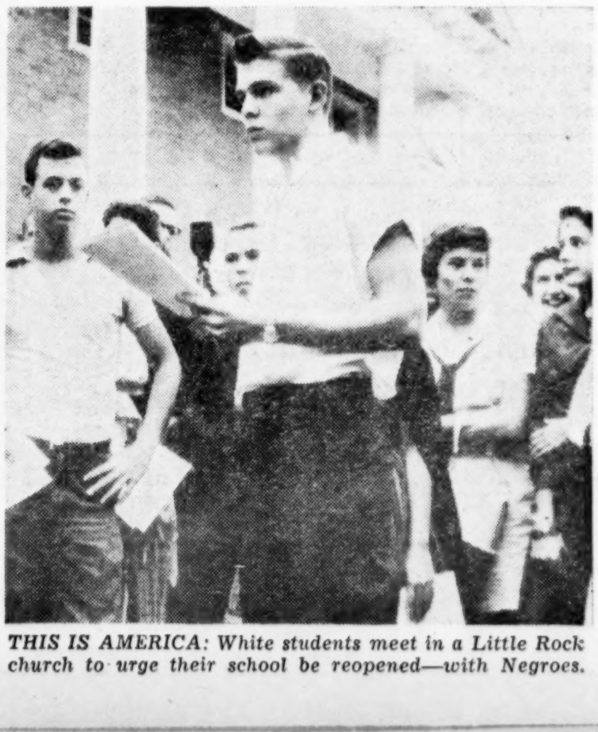
een-agers just sat and sat in they came again and again.



EMPTY SEATS: In Norfolk, Va., the empty-headed ones closed schools rather than admit Negro children.

TRY THAT ONCE MORE: Johnny Gray (r.) of Little Rock, Ark., tells off a white boy who tried to force him and his sister off the sidewalk.

THEY'RE HER CHILDREN: And she came to see that they registered on the opening day of school at Easton Elementary in Winston-Salem, N.C.



THIS IS AMERICA: White students meet in a Little Rock church to urge their school be reopened—with Negroes.

21st Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

year's Congress breathed an air of confidence based on difficult tasks successfully accomplished. Soviet production had reached new heights with unprecedented speed, Soviet scientists had penetrated space, Soviet economic aid to underdeveloped countries had posed a serious challenge to the world's leading industrial nation.

THE PLAN: Khrushchev's speech was thoughtful and meaty, and also spiced with humor. He made frequent wisecracks and quips as he spoke to the 1,375 delegates, representatives of other socialist countries and the Communist parties of non-socialist lands, and foreign correspondents who had been invited for the first time to attend the opening session of the CP Congress.

When he presented the plan's food-production target, he wished the delegates "Good appetite, comrades." Introducing the sugar production goals, he offered "more sweets and less bitters." There was loud applause when, speaking of iron, steel and other heavy goods, he paused for a moment and said: "Now, these figures are in billions. We are not used to quoting trillions—yet."

In his speech, Khrushchev placed the greatest emphasis on the seven-year plan. Fulfillment of the plan, he said, would enable the Soviet Union to catch up with and surpass the U.S. by 1970 in physical volume of production, both as a whole and per capita. The plan's success, he added, would also demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism to the "new countries that had recently thrown off the yoke of colonialism."

PEACE THE REQUISITE: On the basis of a 1958 plan fulfillment report issued on the eve of the Congress by the Soviet Central Statistical Office, competent observers abroad conceded the probable success of the seven-year plan. The report announced that gross industrial production last year increased by 10%—more than was originally planned. Output of producers' goods rose by 11% and of consummers goods by 7%.

In this connection, the Soviet CP newspaper **Pravda** noted that "peace is a necessary requirement" for the fulfillment of the seven-year plan. It added: "The plan is fresh evidence that the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system do not and cannot harbor social forces interested in external expansion, international tension and predatory wars."

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
His emphasis was on peace

In his speech, the Soviet Premier reiterated his proposal for "a zone of disengagement" in Central Europe, separating the forces of East and West. He noted "the growth of military danger on the part of West Germany" and reminded his listeners that Moscow has "put forward a number of new proposals on the German question."

JOINT WITHDRAWAL: He added: "The Soviet Union is ready to withdraw its troops not only from Germany but also from Poland and Hungary . . . if the members of the North Atlantic alliance withdraw their troops back to within their frontiers and liquidate the military bases they have in other countries."

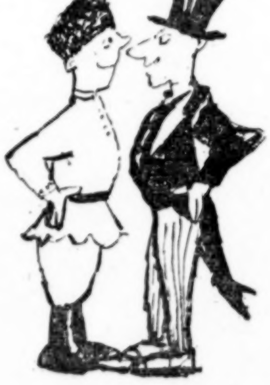
Khrushchev also called for a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific area, in the manner of the Polish Rapacki plan for Central Europe. He again suggested a summit meeting, asked for a ban on nuclear weapons tests and their production. He indicated that the Soviet Union was not neglecting its own defense as he noted that Moscow has started "serial production" of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Soviet Premier denied any rift with China, despite "many peculiar forms in the construction of socialism [that] are used by the Communist party of China." He chided the United Arab Republic for attacks on Arab Communists. "As a Communist," he said, "I think it necessary to declare . . . that it is incorrect to accuse Communists of assisting in the weakening and dividing of national efforts in the fight against imperialism."

FOR RE-EXAMINATION: There were reports of increasing dissatisfaction among America's allies and even in Washington with the inflexible position on Germany taken by Secy. Dulles and Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer. The N.Y. **Times** said "many diplomats of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in private conversation, endorse a re-examination of the basic Western positions."

It added that the idea of a "military disengagement, provided it did not entail a brusque and complete departure of U.S. forces from Germany, but only a phased, controlled thinning out of forces and weapons in Central Europe . . . has its advocates in NATO circles."

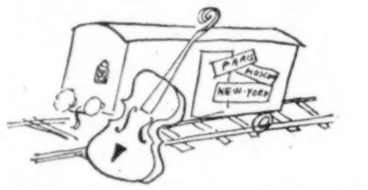
In Washington, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), who on Feb. 3 took over as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he thought it would be "quite proper to enter into a discussion of the withdrawal of troops from Berlin." Criticizing the Eisenhower Administration for failing to come up with any counter-proposal to the Soviet offer, Fulbright said:



Horizons, Paris
7-YEAR PLAN

"Personally, I think it important to move toward the withdrawal of foreign troops. It would be a good thing if Russia withdrew its occupation troops from East Germany, Hungary and Romania."

NUCLEAR ARMS LIMIT: Even West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt gave grudging support to the Rapacki plan. He said: "I must admit that I do not like the idea that more and more countries, including my own country, get nuclear weapons. I would feel much more happy if these weapons could be limited to two or two and a half world powers." He added hastily: "I wouldn't insult Great Britain. Let me say three world powers."



Horizons, Paris
CULTURAL EXCHANGE

On February 3, Secy. Dulles left for London, Paris and Bonn to discuss the German question with Western Allied leaders. It was reported that he will take up the possibility of a spring conference with the Soviet Union on the issue of West Berlin and German reunification.

WRONG COLD WAR? It was Khrushchev's emphasis on the seven-year plan, however, that seemed most to impress observers abroad. The London **Observer**, for example, said that the Soviet Premier's offers to end the cold war and conclude agreements on Germany and disarmament should not be dismissed necessarily as either incredible or insincere. It said:

"Now that Russia is becoming both strong and rich she is putting her faith more and more in economic competition. If this is Mr. Khrushchev's policy, is not the arms race even more irrelevant and dangerous for the West than for Russia? Or, to be more precise, are we waging the wrong cold war?"

The **Reynolds News** said the most important parts of Khrushchev's speech had nothing to do with H-bombs, or rockets; the vital part was the seven-year plan—and the gigantic achievement behind the plan.

To the Manchester **Guardian**, Khrushchev appears "as the man with a song in his heart . . . of riches, ease and peace [and] it is the song the people want to hear, in Asia and Africa as well as at home. The rest of us ought to heed the warning."

Bleak thoughts in a bleak house

QUESTION—Mr. President, do you consider Red China a potentially greater threat to the free world than Russia?

ANSWER—I don't believe in the measurable time that on this you could make a really worthwhile conclusion or prediction.

There is no question that the leaders of Red China are determined by methods with which we are all familiar to become an industrial power; which means that behind it so far as we can see they want to be a big military power and they are going at that just as hard as they can.

Now here's a people of 600,000,000 people and I would think that if they continue in that line with no change in objective, doctrine or method, then we must indeed be watchful, and not only for ourselves but for other people that are friendly and who live closer to China.

But, of course, we would hope that as the instinctive urge of men for freedom, for the right to walk upright in the world, that that begins to have—to create a ferment, not only in the more Western sections of the Eurasian mass, but over in China as well, and that, in my humble opinion, is something that must occur during these years, and I am sure we will have to use more mechanical methods, more material means of insuring our own security. Until that happens we've indeed got a bleak problem and it must be solved.

—From the President's White House conference, Jan. 15.

Two student publications seek articles on socialism

THE SOCIALIST CLUB of the University of Wisconsin has decided to publish a journal of socialist thought with contributions solicited from those both within and outside the university field. Articles should be 25 to 35 typewritten pages. Contributors will be paid $5 per printed page. The mailing address is: Saul Landau, 1026 Clymer Pl., Madison, Wis.

A like-minded group of students at Western Reserve U. will use the spring issue of **Polemic**, an under-graduate publication devoted to the social sciences and humanities, for a symposium on "The Condition of the American Left." The editors are soliciting articles from a selected list of progressives, and plan a series of discussions based on the essays.

LOS ANGELES

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
Author, Lecturer, Literary Critic
Speaks on
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SHOLOKHOV vs. DR. ZHIVAGO
Chairman: Celeste Strack, Economist
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THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS and THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE
A Report By
ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN
Sun., Feb. 15—2:30 p.m.
For more information
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ALBERT KAHN
reports on his trip to the
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JULIAN SCHUMAN (l.) AND SYLVIA AND JOHN W. (BILL) POWELL
The prosecution wouldn't say if Washington gave the order

Powell-Schuman case

(Continued from Page 1)

which resulted in the mistrial motion took place with the jury absent from the courtroom. Argument was proceeding on a prosecution attempt to call a former prisoner of war as a witness to testify to being beaten for disagreeing with articles in the **China Monthly Review.** The government charged the magazine was "required reading" in P.O.W. camps.

Baldwin on Powell trial

The following telegram was sent to John W. Powell on Jan. 17 by Roger Baldwin, for many years a leader of the American Civil Liberties Union:

ALL CHAMPIONS freedom speech press should be alerted to importance pending sedition trial three American citizens solely for opinions published foreign country long ago under statute 40 years old scarcely since invoked. Facts on face indicate abuse prosecution function. Trial would have damaging international implications American justice particularly after court dismissal all other sedition prosecutions.

Roger Baldwin

The prosecutor repeatedly used the term "treason" to describe the defendants' acts and offered the opinion that "the evidence does establish and will establish actual treason on the part of these defendants." The judge made the following comment:

"I would agree with you that the evidence so far presented in this case would be prima facie—I am not ruling on what a jury would do—would be prima facie sufficient to sustain a verdict of guilty under the treason statute, but we do not make the laws in these courts; they are made by Congress."

Later in the same session, Judge Goodman said that the kind of evidence the prosecution sought to introduce "would clearly be admissible if the defendants were charged under Section 2381," the treason statute, and repeated "that the evidence already introduced would be prima facie sufficient to support and sustain a verdict of guilty under 2381."

"DIRTY POOL": When the newspapers published banner headlines and stories based on these observations, the judge called them "flamboyant" and said that if he had said the defendants were guilty of treason "the court must have been out of its mind at the time."

But the prosecution, like the newspapers, had taken the judge's words as a cue, and a treason complaint was ready and waiting for the three defendants when next day the judge granted a mistrial on the motion of defense attorney Doris Brin Walker.

Defense attorney Charles Garry called the treason charges "a violation of due process, and, to put it in more common language—it's dirty pool. It will be impossible under this atmosphere to get any kind of a fair trial."

Labor bill

(Continued from Page 1)

the Taft-Hartley law."

Picketing a plant by a union not representing a majority of employes would become an unfair labor practice subject to court injunction.

Disbursal of union funds would be limited "in accordance with such . . . purposes and in a manner authorized by the constitution, by-laws and other governing rules of the organization." Many union constitutions say nothing about lobbying or political action. Under this provision, a dissident member could sue union officials for spending money in a political campaign.

THE 'MILD' MEASURE: The Kennedy bill does not deal with secondary boycotts or political action and it would prohibit picketing only where employes had voted down the picketing union. It also included Taft-Hartley amendments favored by unions.

These changes, picked up by the Administration, would (1) permit strikers to vote in representation elections even though the company has replaced them; (2) authorize NLRB certification of building trades unions without an election in certain cases.

Kennedy would also reduce from 30 days to seven the time an employe can wait before joining a union in a union-shop plant. The Administration bill omits this provision.

EMBARRASSED: Kennedy was critical of the Administration bill, but Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) said it would be given careful consideration. He predicted that an "effective" bill would be passed. Kennedy later said he was sure a compromise could be worked out.

AFL-CIO leaders were embarrassed. Already committed to the Kennedy bill, which itself was a compromise devised in the last Congress, they were being pushed to give still more ground. At Senate Labor Committee hearings on the Kennedy bill, Andrew J. Biemiller, legislative director of the AFL-CIO, said he did not think his organization would support the measure if the pro-labor Taft-Hartley amendments were removed, but he would not commit himself finally.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Step into my office, lad, and tell me about it."

CHOICE OF RIGHTS: Congress also got a second choice on civil rights when a coalition of liberals headed by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) introduced a bill to give Congressional endorsement to the Supreme Court desegregation rulings. The bill is similar to one killed in committee in the last Congress It was described as "reasonable, moderate and conciliatory" by its sponsors, but compared with Lyndon Johnson's puny offering, which avoided the school problem, it was a step forward.

The bill would (1) allocate $40,000,000 a year for five years for schools cut off from state funds because they integrated; (2) empower the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to prepare desegregation plans for communities failing to make "orderly adjustment and transition" toward integration, and empower the Attorney General to begin legal action if the communities fail to comply; (3) restore "section three" dropped from last year's Civil Rights Act, to enable the Attorney General to enter civil rights cases on receipt of complaints from individuals and empower him to ask for court injunctions to stop the violations.

BE CAREFUL: Initial reaction indicated that the Senators viewed civil rights as a hot issue for 1960. Sometime-liberal Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) was quick to endorse the Johnson bill, warning liberal Democrats not to overreach themselves and lose a chance to put a man in the White House.

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS
A bill to back the Supreme Court

In introducing the bill, Douglas made sure to cover the Democrats if the measure failed to pass. He said it would need strong leadership from the Administration if the bill were to become law.

Eisenhower summed up his stand: "I think when we get into the field of law here we must be very careful."

ONE OF 7 DISMISSED

2d Smith Act trial opens in Denver

THE SECOND TRIAL of the Denver Smith Act case opened Jan. 28, after the Supreme Court denied a defense request for a stay. It is the first Smith Act conspiracy case to be retried since the Supreme Court overturned the conviction in the California Yates case.

Trial opened with the dismissal of defendant Lewis M. Johnson by motion of the government because the government's witness is reportedly reluctant to testify against him a second time. The six remaining defendants are represented by court-appointed counsel with the exception of Patricia Blau, who has retained attorney John Abt.

In his opening statement, court-appointed defense counsel Ira C. Rothgerber reminded the jury that "McCarthyism is the political climate out of which came this prosecution" and that "everybody in this country has the right to his ideas and ideals."

Although half the charge (the conspiracy section) is out of the indictment, the government read it all to the jury, leaving them to decide what portion they must consider. A defense motion for mistrial was denied.

Air crash takes lives of 2 New Yorkers

THE CRASH of a four-passenger private plane near Versailles, Ky., on Jan. 26, took the lives of two well-known New Yorkers: Frank C. Bancroft, writer, and Dan Weiner, photographer. Also killed were Dr. H. Halbert Leet, psychiatrist, and his associate Leon Gross, about whom Bancroft and Weiner were doing a story for a medical publication.

Weiner, 39, was one of the country's leading photo-journalists. His work appeared in many popular mazagines. In 1955 he collaborated with So. African writer Alan Paton on a book, **South Africa in Transition.** Last year his report on life in the U.S.S.R. was published in the N.Y. **Times Magazine.**

MEMORIAL FUND: Bancroft was an ordained minister who went to India in 1930 as a teacher. He became associated with the Indian student and trade union movements and was asked by the British Government to leave the country in 1933. He served as editor of **Social Work Today** until the beginning of World War II when he went to work for the United Seamen's Service. From 1947 to 1952 he was employed as an editor by the UN Secretariat.

He was one of ten persons dismissed for refusing to answer questions about their political affiliations in 1952. Later the decision was overturned and he was ordered reinstated with back pay. From 1953 to the time of death he worked as a medical writer.

A Frank C. Bancroft Memorial Fund has been established to help "organizations such as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which are working to make democracy effective in the South." Contributions may be sent to Jack Kamaiko, treasurer, 57 Charles St., New York 14, N.Y.

McCarran Act to be topic of Feb. 14 N.Y. luncheon

LEGISLATION to repeal or revise the Walter-McCarran Law will be the subject of a luncheon sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Sat., Feb. 14. The law, affecting more than 14,000,000 Americans, contains some 700 grounds for deportation and gives naturalized Americans second class status.

The luncheon will be held at the Jade Mountain restaurant in New York at 12 noon. Information and tickets at $1.50 are available at the ACPFB office, 49 E. 21 St., or by calling ORegon 4-5058.

Kahn tells of Soviet trip Feb. 25 in Los Angeles

OBSERVATIONS on his recent trip to the Soviet Union will be given by Albert Kahn at Baces Hall in Los Angeles Feb. 25. Kahn, author and lecturer, spent several weeks touring the Soviet Union last fall and interviewed leading figures.

The lecture is under the auspices of the Los Angeles Committee for **Jewish Currents.** A question period will follow.

House Un-American Activities Committee gets whopping $327,000 appropriation

A THREE-INCH story in the N.Y. Times Jan. 30 reported that the House Committee on Un-American Activities had received a grant of $327,000 to continue its operations. There was no record vote. Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) said he regretted that under the rules he could not move to cut the appropriation. He noted that the Un-American Committee, presided over by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Penn.), got more funds than the Judiciary Committee ($200,000) "and most other standing committees." Rep. Roy Wier (D-Minn.) announced his opposition.

There were no hearings on the appropriation for the Un-American Committee despite a widespread demand for its abolition. On the floor of the House, in the last weeks, Walter and Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), a Committee member, had linked the abolition movement with critical articles that have appeared, or have been planned, about the FBI. Criticism of either was in effect characterized as treason.

ROOSEVELT'S BILL: The Washington **Post**, which had called editorially for the Committee's abolition, was described by Walter as "notorious." Its chief editorial writer Alan Barth was "identified" as a critic of the FBI. Walter found something sinister in the fact that theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who had also called for abolition, had signed a petition seeking the release of Smith Act victims from prison.

A resolution had been introduced Jan. 9 by Roosevelt to eliminate the Un-American Committee, and add to the Judiciary Committee the power to investigate "seditious activity." Speaker Rayburn prevented this proposal from being considered.

Roosevelt's move came in for sharp criticism from many advocates of civil liberties who noted that its effect might be to open the way to even wider witch-hunts.

Proponents of the Roosevelt resolution, which is bottled up in committee and will need 218 signatures to get it to the floor, contend that support of the move will boost the abolition campaign by eliminating the Un-American Committee. They say that the Judiciary Committee at present has the power to investigate seditious activity.

In Atlanta, Carl Braden was sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to answer Un-American Committee questions. Frank Wilkinson, sponsor of the national campaign to abolish the Committee, has also been sentenced to a year in jail for contempt. Both are free on bail pending appeals.

Guardian theater night: 'A Raisin in the Sun'

THE GUARDIAN has booked a very special theater party for the evening of March 18 in New York. It's for **A Raisin in the Sun**, by Lorraine Hansberry, the first Broadway play written, directed and acted by Negroes. The N.Y. **Times** said:

"Regardless of the current booking congestion, room can be made—as if by magic—for anything resembling a potential hit. Apparently this situation applies to **A Raisin in the Sun**, with Sidney Poitier, Claudia McNeil and Ruby Dee in the cast."

Variety bore out the remarkable out-of-town notices. It said: "The play is a gem, beautifully written, expertly staged, forcefully played, absorbingly presented."

The play opens March 8 at the Barrymore. GUARDIAN night is March 18. Tickets are priced at $10, orchestra; $9, mezzanine. Make your reservation today by calling or writing Guardian Theater Party, 197 E. 4th St. ORegon 3-3800.

There are still a few seats left for **Juno**, Wed., March 4. Orch. only, $10.

PUBLICATIONS

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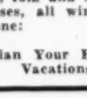
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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

MANDEL TERMAN reports on trip to USSR. Tapes, color slides. Russian Center, 2757 W. Lemoyne, Sun. Feb. 8, 2:45 p.m. Cont. $1.

Soviet violinist **IGOR BESRODNI,** Sun., March 1, 3:30 p.m., Orchestra Hall. Tickets from Chi. Coun. of Amer.-Sov. Friendship. 10% discount to Council members. AN 3-1877. Order deadline Feb. 20.

THE WEAVERS, Civic Opera House, Sat., March 7, 8:30 p.m. Tickets from Chi. Council of Amer.-Sov. Friendship. 10% discount to Council members. AN 3-1877. Order deadline Feb. 27.

CLEVELAND

Public Meeting
"The Carolina Kissing Case", with ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Pres. Union County, N.C. NAACP. Thurs. night, Feb. 12, 8 p.m. Butcher's Building, AFL-CIO, 2605 Detroit Ave. Cleveland.

LOS ANGELES

The Sobell Committees Present
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN speaking
- in the Harbor Area, Sat. p.m. Feb. 14 on **"MARK TWAIN"**
- in Baldwin Park, Sun. p.m., Feb. 15, on **"SHAKESPEARE & EQUALITY"**
- in West L.A., Fri. p.m., Feb 20, on **"NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS, USA"**
- in the Valley, Fri. p.m., Feb. 27, on **"SEAN O'CASEY"**
- In Los Angeles, Sat., p.m. Feb. 28, **"FREE SPEECH, FREE LOVE & POETS"**

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DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN will talk about "The Beat Generation & the 3rd Party." Sun., Feb. 22, 8 p.m., North Hall of The Embassy, 839 S. Grand (2 floor). Adm: 90c. Auspices: L.A. Guardian Readers Committee.

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TIME: 8:30 p.m. **DATE:** Fri. Feb. 13.
PLACE: 1702 E. 4 St. Auspices Socialist Workers Party.

PHILADELPHIA

DR. JAMES W. SKELTON, Professor of Education, speaks on **Education in a Dying Culture.** Fri., Feb. 13, 8:30 p.m. Drake Hotel, 15 & Spruce Sts. Adm: $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund for Dismissed Teachers.

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MILITANT LABOR FORUM
Negro History Week Meeting
"John Brown & Harper's Ferry: — A Centennial Tribute," Speaker: **ARTHUR LOEBMAN,** plus a report on New Developments in the Carolina "Kissing" Case by Robert Verney. Fri., Feb. 13, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contr. 50c.

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DEBATE! "Marxism In the U.S."
EARL BROWDER: Fomer General Secy. of the Communist Party, USA
FARRELL DOBBS: National Secy. of the Socialist Workers Party
Friday Feb. 20 8 P.M.
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AND THIS DATE TOO
DEBATE! "Socialist Electoral Policy"
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David McReynolds, '58 Socialist Candidate for Congress.
Friday, Feb. 27 8:30 P.M.
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THE GALLERY

RONALD JACOBOWITZ is selling his home in Detroit and moving to Alaska. Explaining his decision to reporters, he pointed to his TV set and said: "I can't stand that thing any longer." When the story appeared, 40 people wrote Jacobowitz offering to join him . . . From the Dallas **Morning News,** Jan. 20: "Dr. Maffett was president of the Natl. Fedn. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs when it assisted in organizing nursing schools in China, then on the mainland." . . . Two researchers from Hahnemann Medical College studying behavior patterns told a meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science that people ought to join clubs and organizations to prevent them from becoming nervous wrecks . . . The White House staff, according to **U.S. News & World Report,** is thinking of installing an electronic brain "to evaluate the mass of material relating to budgets, housing, road building, etc. The 'brain' would be expected to help in decision making."

ON JAN. 16, at a fancy dress ball at the Hotel Shoreham in Washington, D.C., more than 1,300 high society figures were entertained by a group of Indonesian dancers and a 45-piece gong orchestra. Things went well until about ten minutes before closing when it was discovered that four 200-year-old bronze gongs had been taken from the orchestra. Appeals to the guests to return the irreplaceable gongs, on a no-questions-asked basis, were fruitless. Two weeks later they were delivered by a messenger to the Washington **Post** from an anonymous source . . . Headline in the N.Y. **Herald-Tribune** society column: "Cuban Unrest Cancels Society Hunting Party" . . . Isabelle S. Rice of the Chicago **Daily News** thinks it is silly to refer to the rich as idle. In Palm Beach, Fla., she says, the golf courses, tennis and badminton courts and swimming pools are "swarming by day." In the afternoon there are lectures, art exhibits and weekly Tombola lottery luncheons. At the season's first "tombola," she reports: "Around 700 women and a few brave males filed past the buffet tables . . . and while lunching took mental notes on the exquisite Sophie creations floating down the runway. After the fashion show came the drawing for substantial money prizes—and wouldn't you know?—the largest went to a dowager whose Rolls is upholstered in zebra! Amusing how the wealthy adore something for nothing!" . . . Meanwhile back in the cold North, the New York State Assembly was holding hearings on whether or not to continue rent control.

ANNA WASYLKOW has been a clerk-stenographer at the St. Albans Naval Hospital in New York for 14 years. On July 31, as she was leaving work at 4:30 p.m.—the office's official closing time—the phone rang. She answered it and took a message. A few days later she was called down by a superior who scolded her for answering the phone after hours. Later an official reprimand came from the commanding officer of the hospital which warned that "repetition of this offense within one year may result in application of higher penalties." Miss Wasylkow filed an appeal, but it was denied. She hired a lawyer who filed a brief with Secy. of the Navy Gates. On Jan. 15 Gates replied: Miss Wasylkow was vindicated, the reprimand was "expunged" from her record . . . A woman temperance leader appearing on the Ben Hecht TV show in New York said that there are more alcoholics in Washington, D. C., than in any other city.

THE EMMA LAZARUS FEDN. of Women's Clubs is seeking signatures on petitions asking Postmaster Gen. Summerfield to issue a commemorative stamp in honor of Emma Lazarus. Petitions may be obtained from the federation at 160 Fifth Av., New York 10, N.Y. . . . R. T. Walker, a deacon in the First Baptist Church in Lolita, Tex., is circulating petitions to re-name the town Jackson. . . . "Salesmen," according to Al N. Seares, president of the Natl. Sales Executives-International, "are the jobmakers extraordinary of our economy." He says a survey showed that one salesman provided 31 production jobs. . . . Pocket Books says it recently got an order from Little Rock's Central High School for 100 copies of **How to Win Friends and Influence People.**

—Robert E. Light

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Slalom!

IF THERE IS ANY MORE fascinating sport than skiing, it must be on Mars or the moon.

I have been a sort of amateur athlete—in the intermediate class—ever since graduating from college—and have known the pleasures of most outdoor sports, summer, winter and the year 'round. During the past two months, for instance, I have taken full advantage of the frequent cold spells and have done a lot of skating with my family in New York and neighboring states. It has been great fun.

Yet skiing intrigues me even more; and I think the reason is that it combines healthy exercise in the open air with unusual beauty, excitement and variety of experience. The sport is a splendid one in itself, requiring constant skill and considerable daring.

But in addition it gives unceasing opportunity to commune with Nature: to look off from the top of ski hills to the snow-mantled countryside, with mountains and lakes stretching away in the distance; to see sometimes the multitudinous branches of massed evergreens all etched in the night's new-fallen snow; or simply to feel a pervading esthetic pleasure as you glide across the white expanse of open fields glistening in the sun, or with snowflakes blowing gently in your face.

THIS CONTINUAL VARIETY in natural beauty is matched by the variety possible in the very act of skiing. On a hill that is high and wide you can take a different route every time you come down, also using different techniques in your descent. The sheer exultation of a fast **schuss** down a steep slope has its own appeal. But what I like best is to wander and explore more leisurely. Many a day I have pioneered my own trail in fresh powder snow across the lovely fields of white and green, often traversing slowly to take in the view and winding gradually to the bottom to pick up the tow again.

At Jiminy Peak outside Pittsfield, Mass., there is a grand trail —not at all steep—through the woods, which have been fairly well cleared. From that trail I love to branch out through the trees, twisting and turning among them and leaving behind me my own very personal track. As my skis press ahead and cut their imprint into the virgin snow, I almost feel that I am an artist creating a new and altogether unique pattern.

At the end of the afternoon, with twilight coming on, you stand for a minute or two at the top of the ski hill and breathe in all the beauty of the winter landscape before you make your last run. The tows have closed and you go into the lodge for a cup of hot coffee or chocolate. Then with your legs stretched out before an open fireplace, you talk to other skiers about the adventures of the day and enjoy the cordial good fellowship of the skiing fraternity.

AS A MANHATTAN RESIDENT, with mainly weekends available for sports, I prefer to ski the hills within moderate driving distance from New York. Thus the Pittsfield area (three hours or so on the Taconic Parkway and Routes 23 and 22) is a favorite haunt of mine. There, besides Jiminy Peak, is the Bousquet center, which operates three rope tows, two Poma-lifts, and a T-bar lift for the main hill. The hills, moreover, are broad and include a special small slope for beginners. All of my four children learned the rudiments of skiing at Bosuquet's. It is an admirable place for family skiing and roaming at will over some ten interconnected slopes. (There are convenient New Haven Railway train connections between New York and Pittsfield.)

Big Bromley near Manchester, Vt., (about 55 miles from Pittsfield on Route 7) is another ideal ski center, with higher hills than any around Pittsfield. It has plenty to offer every type of skier and is steadily expanding its facilities. Another fine ski area within three hours of New York (N.Y. Thruway and Route 28) is that of Bellayre in the Catskills. This is run efficiently by New York State and has a chair lift, two T-bar lifts and two rope tows. At Bellayre, as at Jiminy Peak, you can ski through the woods; and down from the top there is a long trail gradual enough for beginners and amateurs.

Of course, I have touched on only a few of the skiing possibilities close to New York. What I have tried essentially to do is to show what a marvelous sport skiing is. I admit I am romantic about it. For in my experience there has been nothing more joyous, in its own way, than skiing days and skiing weekends when there is good snow and good company.

—Corliss Lamont

New York Marxist School offers youth program

A SPECIAL PROGRAM of classes for teenage, student and working youth will be launched by the Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St., Friday evening, Feb. 13. Classes will meet once weekly on Friday at either 6:45 or 8:30 p.m. for six consecutive one-and-a-half-hour sessions ending March 20.

Registrations have already begun and continue daily from 2-9 p.m. A brochure of the courses may be secured at the school. Fee for each six-session course is $3.